

The War on Drugs in the United States: A New Colombian Exchange

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“America’s public enemy number one in the United States is drug abuse. In order to fight and defeat this enemy, it is necessary to wage a new, all-out offensive”¹

-Richard M. Nixon, 1971

The United States is in the midst of the longest war in the nation’s history, not with a nation and not with a radical group but with an ideal. Instituted in 1971 by President Richard Nixon, the War on Drugs is a well-funded effort by the U.S. Government to eliminate the consumption of illegal drugs in the United States. This so-called war reached its height in the 1980s due to increased exchange rates between American consumers and Latin American suppliers. During this time, the Reagan and Bush Administrations implemented dozens of reforms to adapt to increased consumption rates. Despite the reforms, the War on Drugs was widely ineffective at reducing the use and exchange of illegal drugs in the United States.

Encounter with a New Culture

After WWII, the economy in the U.S. was booming. According to William Chafe, “Wages had more than doubled, consumer expenditures increased by 50 percent, and individual savings accounts had climbed almost sevenfold.”² The 1950s bolstered an economic growth rate of 37%³, due largely in part to the rise of consumerism across the country.

Consumerism remained a central aspect of American culture during the 1960s.⁴ However, the concept of traditional American values was not able to compete with the rising popularity of

¹ Nixon, Richard. "Remarks About an Intensified Program for Drug Abuse Prevention and Control." June 17, 1971.

² Chafe, William H. "1 The War Years." *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II*. 30.

³ Macce, John, and Sam Stentz. *American Consumerism in the 1950s*

⁴ Whiteley, N. "Toward a Throw-Away Culture. Consumerism...in the 1950s and 1960s."

the “counterculture movement.”⁵ The counterculture brought a different type of culture to consumerism, one that included the consumption of illegal drugs. In the early 1960s, an illicit use of LSD and other psychedelics drugs increased⁶ along with the most popular drug of the time, marijuana. Use of these illegal drugs became especially popular in the white-upper-middle class portion of American society.⁷

That being said, the history of drug use in the United States is one that is as old, if not older, as the country itself. Consumption of marijuana dates back to the founding of Jamestown and George Washington cultivated crops that would be considered illicit by today’s standards at his Mount Vernon estate.⁸ However, such activities were not illegal until the early years of the 20th century upon the passage of the 1914 Harrison Act (ban of opiates) and the prohibition of alcohol in 1918.⁹ Laws such as prohibition succeeded in lowering consumption¹⁰, but created institutional opposition to societal movements associated with drug use.

It was the combination of consumerism and societal opposition that terrified conservative lawmakers and prompted the War on Drugs.

Exploring Nixon’s War on Drugs

President Nixon was elected to office in 1969 as a Republican.¹¹ In 1971 Nixon publically declared war on drugs and promised to take every step necessary in winning said war:

We must now candidly recognize that the deliberate procedures embodied in present efforts to control drug abuse are not sufficient in themselves. The problem has assumed

⁵ Heath, Joseph, and Andrew Potter. *Nation of Rebels: Why Counterculture Became Consumer Culture*.

⁶ Grinspoon, Lester, MD. and James B. Bakalar. "Current Psychotherapeutic Drugs."

⁷ "Marijuana Timeline." *PBS*. PBS, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

⁸ Inciardi, James A. *Handbook of Drug Control in the United States*. New York: Greenwood, 1990. Print. Pg. 29

⁹ “Against Drug Prohibition." American Civil Liberties Union. ACLU, n.d. Web. 1 May 2016.

¹⁰ Blocker, Jack S. "Abstract." *Did Prohibition Really Work?: Alcohol Prohibition as a Public Health Innovation*. Washington, DC: American Public Health Association, 2006. 233-43. Print

¹¹ "Richard M. Nixon." *The White House*. The White House.

the dimensions of a national emergency. I intend to take every step necessary to deal with this emergency.¹²

The plan proposed by Richard Nixon came in direct response to the encounter of the counterculture movement. During this time period, conservative sentiment towards popular culture and drugs abuse was at an all time high. Republican speech and novel writer Peggy Noonan urged conservative readers to “remember your boomer childhood in the towns and suburbs...you were safe...the cities were better.”¹³ This sentiment was explicitly spelled out in the Republican Party Platform of 1972:

The permissiveness of the 1960's left no legacy more insidious than drug abuse. In that decade narcotics became widely available, most tragically among our young people. The use of drugs became endowed with a sheen of false glamour identified with social protest.¹⁴

The party's stance on drug abuse was immediately expressed in legislation. Nixon and the Republican Party were able to draft a slew of anti-drug legislation between 1968 and 1974, which included: the formation of the Justice Department's Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in 1968,¹⁵ the placement of marijuana and LSD in the Schedule I category of drug severity in 1972,¹⁶ the passage of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970,¹⁷ and the passage of an amendment to the CDAPCA in 1973 which further controlled trafficking of narcotics.¹⁸ But perhaps the most important piece of legislation pertaining to Nixon's war on drugs occurred in 1973 under Nixon's Executive Order 11727, which established “a Drug

¹² Nixon, Richard. "Special Message to the Congress on Drug Abuse Prevention and Control.," June 17, 1971.

¹³ Frank, Thomas. *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*.

¹⁴ Republican Party Platforms: "Republican Party Platform of 1972," August 21, 1972.

¹⁵ "Organization, Mission and Functions Manual: Drug Enforcement Administration."

¹⁶ "DEA / Drug Scheduling." *DEA / Drug Scheduling*. United State Department of Justice,

¹⁷ "Controlled Substances Act." *Controlled Substances Act*. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

¹⁸ United States. Cong. House. House Commerce. *H.R. 7115*. 93rd Cong. HR H.R. 7115. Rep. Robert H. Steele, 17 Apr. 1973. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

Enforcement Administration in the Department of Justice.”¹⁹ The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) was founded in order to “establish a single unified command to combat an all-out global war on the drug menace.”²⁰ The DEA merged the efforts of the Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement²¹ and the Office of National Narcotics Intelligence²² and created an unparalleled anti-drug force.

Latin American Drug Exchange

The creation of this unprecedented anti-drug force came about because of unprecedented amounts of drug use in the United States. In 1969, 12 million Americans had tried marijuana²³, but by 1979 26 million Americans were considered regular drug users.²⁴ The DEA’s first step in combating the international drug trade started in 1974 in response to the presence of Mexican brown heroin in the U.S. According to the DEA report of 1970-1975, “the quantity of brown heroin from Mexico available in the United States had risen 40 percent higher than the quantity of white heroin from Europe.”²⁵ The DEA worked closely with the Mexican government to combat cartels that produced and trafficked heroin.

Up until the 1980’s, Mexico was the primary focus of the DEA for good reason. By 1974, traffickers from Mexico controlled three-fourths of the U.S. heroin market and had a large foothold in the marijuana market.²⁶ Mexican cartels were able to dominate U.S. markets so

¹⁹ Nixon, Richard. "Executive Order 11727 - Drug Law Enforcement," July 6, 1973.

²⁰ "DEA.gov / History." *DEA.gov / History*. U.S. Department of Justice

²¹ Nixon, Richard: "Executive Order 11641 - Concentration of Law Enforcement Activities Relating to Drug Abuse," January 28, 1972.

²² Nixon, Richard: "Executive Order 11676 - Providing for the Establishment of an Office of National Narcotics Intelligence Within the Department of Justice," July 27, 1972.

²³ "MARIJUANA: At Least 12 Million American Have Now Tried It. Are Penalties Too Severe? Should It Be Legalized?" *LIFE MAGAZINE* October 31, 1969

²⁴ DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION. "Drug Enforcement Administration 1975-1980." Pg. 2.

²⁵ DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION. "Drug Enforcement Administration 1970-1975." Pg. 15.

²⁶ DEA 1975-1980. Pg. 7.

effectively because of Mexico's geographic location. The U.S.-Mexican border became a battleground between U.S. Border Patrol and Mexican smugglers.²⁷

While the United States was focusing its international efforts in Mexico, Colombia was developing into a nation controlled by cartels. In 1976, Colombian drug kingpin Pablo Escobar created the Medellin Cartel along with other successful drug traffickers Jose Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha and the Ochoa Brothers.²⁸ The Medellin Cartel controlled massive amounts of cocaine and transported it all around the globe, specifically the U.S.²⁹

Colombia wasn't the priority of the DEA so the Medellin Cartel was largely left alone to traffic drugs into the U.S. until the encounter of the 1979 shooting at the Dadeland Mall in Miami. The shooting was carried out by Colombian drug traffickers³⁰ and, according to a DEA report, "was the first visible evidence of the growing presence of a network of Colombia-based drug dealers in the United States."³¹

The presence of Colombian drug dealers became more and more evident as the usage of cocaine increased to new heights across the country. Cocaine use peaked in the United States in 1982 with 10.4 million users, and by the mid-1980s the thrust of the antidrug campaign was shifted from marijuana to the new king of American drug consumption, cocaine.³² The peak of the Colombian cocaine trade coupled with the monopoly that the Medellin and Cali Cartels had on the drug allowed Colombia to become the predominant trafficking super power in Latin America.³³

²⁷ "Border Patrol Overview." *Border Patrol Overview*.

²⁸ "The Colombian Cartels." *PBS*. PBS

²⁹ "Pablo Escobar Dominates the International Cocaine Trade: 1976–1993."

³⁰ "2 Gunned Down in Dadeland." *The Miami Herald* [Miami] 12 July 1979: 1. *Youtube.com*. Web. 27 Jan. 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IJOvLsS-sN8>

³¹ DEA 1975-1980. Pg. 13.

³² Muscoreil, Debra Lucas: "War on Drugs."

³³ Hyland, Steven. "The Shifting Terrain of Latin American Drug Trafficking | Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective."

As American use of cocaine skyrocketed, so did the income of Pablo Escobar. At the peak of his power, Escobar was estimated to have brought in \$420 million a week in revenue.³⁴ Pablo's brother Roberto Escobar Gaviria wrote that: "Pablo was earning so much that each year we would write off 10% of the money because the rats would eat it in storage or it would be damaged by water or lost."³⁵

Escobar was a businessman who had created a product that would never go out of demand; cocaine had Americans hooked. This is because of cocaine's addictive traits:

Users (of cocaine) experience a short-term high that is extremely pleasurable... The problem is that these feelings do not last long, and users must ingest or inhale more cocaine to recapture the same feelings. In tests with experimental animals, cocaine is the only drug that the animals will repeatedly and continuously demand on their own to the point of killing themselves... Cocaine creates a profound psychological dependence, in which the mind craves the ecstasy that comes with the drug.³⁶

Cocaine is not only incredibly addictive but also incredibly dangerous. Besides the risk of addiction, which is a chronic disease of the brain,³⁷ cocaine usage poses the threat of possible overdose every time it is used. In a Presidential Address given on September 5th, 1989, President George Bush held up a bag of crack cocaine. President Bush said that, "It's as innocent looking as candy but it's turning our cities into battle-zones and it's murdering our children."³⁸ Cocaine in the 1980s became popular with high school and college age students similar to how marijuana became popular with younger generations in the 1960s and 1970s. President Bush was correct when he said crack cocaine was "murdering our children." Between 1984 and 1994, the homicide rate for Black males aged 14-17 more than doubled and homicide rates for Black males aged 18-24 increased almost as much due to the presence of crack cocaine in African American

³⁴ Macias, Amanda. "Legendary Drug Lord Pablo Escobar..." *Business Insider*.

³⁵ Gaviria, Roberto Escobar, and David Fisher. *The Accountant's Story: Inside the Violent World of the Medellin Cartel*.

³⁶ "Cocaine." *UXL Encyclopedia of Science*. Ed. Amy Hackney Blackwell and Elizabeth Manar.

³⁷ "Understanding Drug Abuse and Addiction." *DrugFacts*: National Institute on Drug Abuse

³⁸ Bush, George H.W. "Presidential Address on National Drug Policy." Presidential Address on National Drug Policy. **Appendix I**

communities. Homicide rates for white and Hispanic men of the same ages followed similar patterns.³⁹ Furthermore, cocaine causes an array of other side effects associated with regular use, including irreversible damage to the heart and liver, along with damage inflicted by strokes and seizures that may occur.⁴⁰

Reagan's African American Incarceration Encounter

By the time Ronald Reagan was inaugurated in 1981,⁴¹ it was apparent that drugs had become a major problem in American society. According to the DEA Report of 1980-1985:

During the 1980s, international drug trafficking organizations reorganized and began operating on an unprecedented scale. The rise of the Medellin cartel, the influx of cocaine into the United States, and the violence associated with drug trafficking and drug use complicated the task of law enforcement at all levels.⁴²

In response to the threat of extensive drug use, President Reagan vastly strengthened the effort of the War on Drugs. The first way that he and his conservative counterparts went about this was legislatively. In 1984 the Comprehensive Crime Control Act created strict, defined punishments for people who used and sold illegal drugs.⁴³ Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 established criminal penalties for simple possession of a controlled substance and increased criminal penalties for employing persons less than 18 years of age in drug operations.⁴⁴ And the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 established the Office of National Drug Control Policy,⁴⁵ which is tasked with advising the President on drug-control issues.⁴⁶

³⁹ Fryer, Roland G., Jr., Paul S. Heaton, Steven D. Levitt, and Kevin M. Murphy. "Measuring Crack Cocaine and Its Impact."

⁴⁰ "Cocaine." *Drugs and Controlled Substances: Information for Students*. Ed. Stacey L. Blachford and Kristine Krapp.

⁴¹ "Ronald Reagan." *The White House*. The White House.

⁴² DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION. "Drug Enforcement Administration 1980-1985."

⁴³ "S.1762 - 98th Congress (1983-1984): Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984."

⁴⁴ "H.R.5484 - 99th Congress (1985-1986): Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986."

⁴⁵ "H.R.5210 - 100th Congress (1987-1988): Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988."

⁴⁶ "About ONDCP." *The White House*. The White House.

These bills, along with the creation of The Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Force in 1982⁴⁷, prompted law enforcement officers to strictly enforce penalties for drug use. According to the Drug Policy Alliance, incarceration rates have risen significantly since the passage of these laws.⁴⁸ The Republican Party Platform of 1988 reported, “ In the past six years, federal drug arrests have increased by two-thirds. Compared to 1980, two and a half times as many drug offenders were sent to prison in 1987.”⁴⁹

A large portion of incarcerated drug offenders happened to be minorities. According to a 2016 study, African Americans comprise 31 percent of those arrested for drug law violations⁵⁰, and nearly 40 percent of those incarcerated in state or federal prison for drug law violations.⁵¹ These statistics are very similar to the incarceration rates of minorities since the outset of Reagan’s legislation. Doris Provine, author of *Unequal under Law: Race in the War on Drugs*, theorized that criminal sanctions were so strict in order to keep crack from “spread(ing) beyond the ghetto.”⁵²

Provine, as well as other critics of the War on Drugs, argue that it perpetuates unequal treatment of African Americans in the U.S. judicial system. African Americans, as seen in Appendix II, were opposed to the War on Drugs, and believed that the “War on Drugs is a War on us!”⁵³

⁴⁷ "Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Forces." *Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Forces*. United State Department of Justice.

⁴⁸ "The Drug War, Mass Incarceration and Race." *Drug Policy Alliance*. Drug Policy Alliance, 10 Feb. 2016. Web. 1 May 2016.

⁴⁹ Republican Party Platforms: "Republican Party Platform of 1988," August 16, 1988.

⁵⁰ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Crime in the United States, 2014," Table 49A.

⁵¹ Bureau of Justice Statistics, Federal Justice Statistics Program; "Drug Offenders in Federal Prison: Estimates of Characteristics Based on Linked Data," (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015)

⁵² Provine, Doris Marie. *Unequal under Law: Race in the War on Drugs*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 2007. Print. Pg. 3

⁵³ "Drug Laws Changing - Gorilla Convict." *Gorilla Convict*. N.p., 25 Jan. 2015. Web. 1 May 2016.

Despite this claim, the Republican Party stood in firm support of Reagan's efforts and praised the work that he had done in 1984:

Under the outstanding leadership of President Reagan and Vice President Bush's Task Force on Organized Crime, the Administration established the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System. We set up an aggressive Marijuana Eradication and Suppression Program gave the FBI authority to investigate drugs, and coordinated FBI and DEA efforts. We reaffirm that the eradication of illegal drug traffic is a top national priority.⁵⁴

Exploring Effectiveness of War

It is apparent that the Republican Party and the Reagan and Bush Administrations feel proud of the work that they were able to accomplish during 1980s War on Drugs, but should the American public feel proud? According the Drug Policy Alliance, the United States has spent over \$1 trillion on the War on Drugs over the last four decades.⁵⁵ This means that the U.S. spends over \$25 billion on the War on Drugs annually. That being said these figures could easily be much higher. According to the 2011 National Drug Threat Assessment, the DEA estimates that they capture less than 10% of all illicit drugs.⁵⁶

The Reagan Administration did successfully reduce the usage of cocaine nationwide. According to the National Institute on Drug Abuse, the use of cocaine by high school student has dropped significantly in the 1990s and 2000s.⁵⁷ However, drug use has not gone away. According to the National Institute on Drug Abuse, an estimated 24.6 million Americans aged 12 or older used illicit drugs, primarily marijuana and prescription drugs, in 2013.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Republican Party Platforms: "Republican Party Platform of 1984," August 20, 1984.

⁵⁵ "Wasted Tax Dollars." *Wasted Tax Dollars*. Drug Policy Alliance.

⁵⁶ *National Drug Threat Assessment 2011*. Rep. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice. National Drug Intelligence Center.

⁵⁷ "What Is the Scope of Cocaine Use in the United States?" *What Is the Scope of Cocaine Use in the United States?* National Institute on Drug Abuse.

⁵⁸ "Nationwide Trends." Drug Facts: Nationwide Trends. National Institute on Drug Abuse.

The efforts of the War on Drugs have also been unsuccessful internationally. In 1993, the drug lord Pablo Escobar was taken out by the DEA and Colombian police forces and the Medellin Cartel's reign of terror was over.⁵⁹ However, the Cali Cartel and other fragmented cartels soon filled the power vacuum that was left after Escobar's death.⁶⁰ The Colombian cocaine trade has not and will not die.

Furthermore, a statement issued by the Global Commission of Drug Policy, accurately depicted the problems of the War on Drugs:

"The global war on drugs has failed, with devastating consequences for individuals and societies around the world...the evidence overwhelmingly demonstrates that repressive strategies will not solve the drug problem, and that the war on drugs has not, and cannot, be won."⁶¹

Conclusion

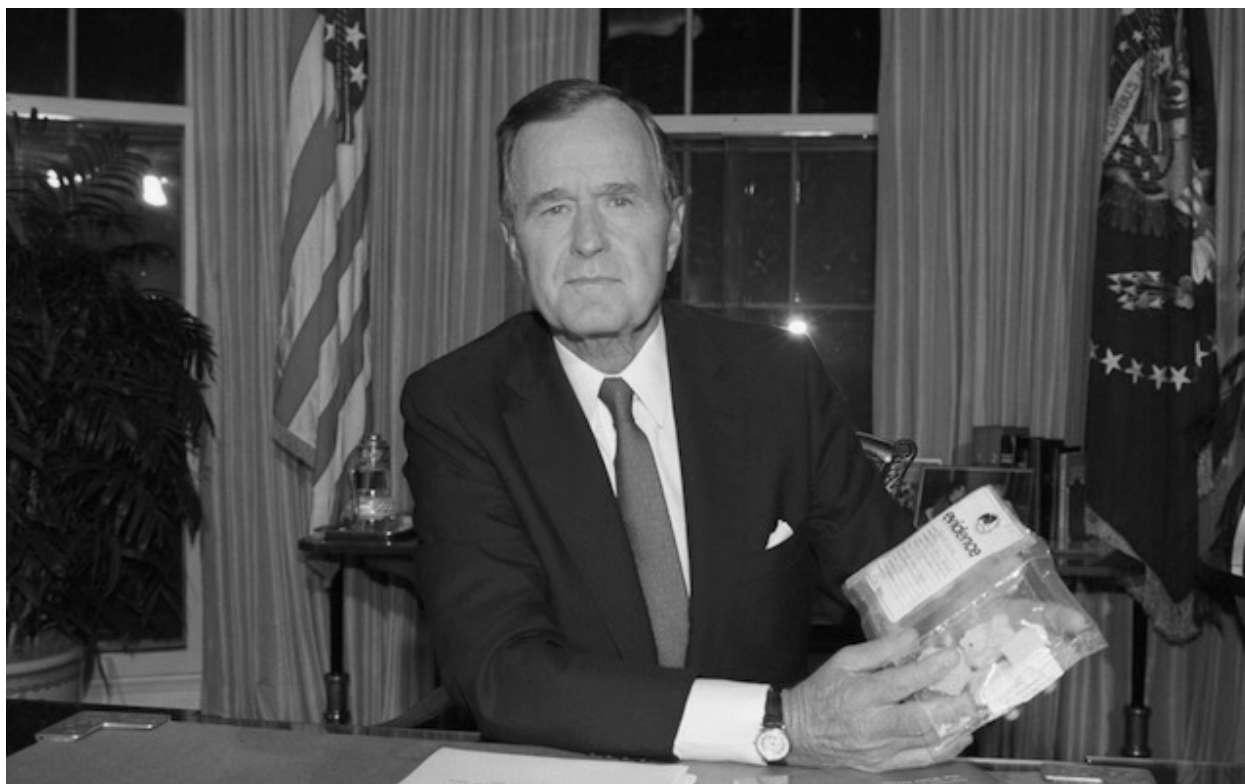
President Nixon implemented the War on Drugs in 1971 in response to the counterculture movement of the 1960s. Nixon and his fellow conservative Presidents (Reagan and Bush) poured millions of dollars worth of American resources into fighting this so-called war within the U.S. and Latin America. At the height of the War on Drugs, cocaine was widely considered the drug of choice despite the severe side effects that the drug has, specifically addiction. Despite the efforts to curtail the exchange between consumers in the United States and drug cartels in Latin America, the War on Drugs was ineffective at reducing drug usage in the U.S. and the international drug trade.

⁵⁹ D'Arcy, Jenish. "Death of a drug lord: the cocaine trade will survive Pablo Escobar."

⁶⁰ "20 Years After Pablo: The Evolution of Colombia's Drug Trade." *20 Years After Pablo: The Evolution of Colombia's Drug Trade*. Insight Crime.

⁶¹ Kain, Erik. "The War on Drugs Is a War on Minorities and the Poor." *Forbes*. Forbes Magazine, 28 June 2011. Web. 1 May 2016.

Appendix I



Original caption: Washington, D. C.: President Bush displays a bag of crack cocaine that was seized by DEA agents a few days ago in Lafayette Park across from the White House after Bush addressed the nation 9/5 detailing his new \$7.9 billion anti-drug program.

Marquette, Joe. *President George Bush Holding Cocaine Evidence*. 1989. Washington, DC, USA. *President George Bush Holding Cocaine Evidence*. Web. 20 Apr. 2016.

Appendix II



This image depicts African Americans protesting the War on Drugs. During Ronald Reagan's administration, harsh legislation was passed that enforced strict punishments on drug possession, and often times African Americans were incarcerated more than any other ethnic group.

"Drug Laws Changing - Gorilla Convict." *Gorilla Convict*. N.p., 25 Jan. 2015. Web. 1 May 2016.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

"2 Gunned Down in Dadeland." The Miami Herald [Miami] 12 July 1979: 1. Youtube.com. Web. 27 Jan. 2016. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IJOvLsS-sN8>>.

This video, seen on YouTube, features first hand accounts of the Dadeland shooting along with a picture of the article appearing in The Miami Herald. Both the video and article aptly described the Dadeland Mall shooting.

Bureau of Justice Statistics, Federal Justice Statistics Program: "Drug Offenders in Federal Prison: Estimates of Characteristics Based on Linked Data," (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015)

This primary source came from the Bureau of Justice and supports the argument that the War on Drugs is unfair to minorities within the United States.

Bush, George H.W. "Presidential Address on National Drug Policy." Presidential Address on National Drug Policy. The White House, Washington D.C. 5 Sept. 1989. C-span.org. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

Perhaps one of George Bush Sr.'s most iconic addresses, this video captured the infamous speech wherein the former President showed the nation what crack-cocaine looked like. He described how dangerous it was and further justified his role in the War on Drugs.

Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Crime in the United States, 2014," Table 49A.

This source, courtesy of the FBI, provided the statistic regarding African Americans who are arrested for drug law violations in 2016.

Gaviria, Roberto Escobar, and David Fisher. The Accountant's Story: Inside the Violent World of the Medellín Cartel. New York: Grand Central Pub., 2009. Web.

Gaviria is the brother of drug kingpin Pablo Escobar. He provided a first hand glimpse at the day-to-day workings of the Medellín Cartel.

"H.R.5484 - 99th Congress (1985-1986): Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986." H.R.5484. Rep. James C. Wright, n.d. Web. 25 Jan. 2016.

This primary source published by congress.gov provides a summary of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 as well as the primary document. This source provided information on legislation passed during the 1980's in response to the war on drugs.

"H.R.5210 - 100th Congress (1987-1988): Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988." H.R.5210. Rep. Thomas S. Foley, n.d. Web. 25 Jan. 2016.

This primary source published by congress.gov provides a summary of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 as well as the primary document. This source provided information on legislation passed during the 1980's in response to the war on drugs.

Nixon, Richard. "Executive Order 11641 - Concentration of Law Enforcement Activities Relating to Drug Abuse," January 28, 1972. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project.

Primary source of Nixon's executive order to create the Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement. This source gave me background knowledge pertaining to the job of the ODALE.

Nixon, Richard. "Executive Order 11727 - Drug Law Enforcement," July 6, 1973. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*.

Primary source of Nixon's executive order to create the Drug Enforcement Administration in the Department of Justice. This source gave me background knowledge pertaining to the creation of the DEA, the most important organization for combatting drug abuse.

Nixon, Richard. "Executive Order 11676 - Providing for the Establishment of an Office of National Narcotics Intelligence Within the Department of Justice," July 27, 1972. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project.

Primary source of Nixon's executive order to create the Office of National Narcotics Intelligence. This source gave me background knowledge pertaining to the job of ONNI.

Nixon, Richard. "Remarks About an Intensified Program for Drug Abuse Prevention and Control." June 17, 1971. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project.

Summary of the 1971 quotes from a speech given by Richard Nixon in which he emphatically proclaimed that drug abuse is America's enemy. He went on to officially declare "War on Drugs" and started the movement of war in the United States.

Nixon, Richard. "Special Message to the Congress on Drug Abuse Prevention and Control.," June 17, 1971. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project.

Actual transcript of the 1971 speech given by Nixon in which he declared War on Drugs. The President also outlined his goals for his war on drugs.

Republican Party Platforms: "Republican Party Platform of 1972," August 21, 1972. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project.

The 1972 platform indicates that the Republican Party blamed the culture of the 1960's for the existing drug problem in the United States. This source backed up my argument that the counterculture of the 1960's led to the War on Drugs.

Republican Party Platforms: "Republican Party Platform of 1984," August 20, 1984. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project.

The 1984 Republican Party Platform was compiled by The American Presidency Project. The platform reiterates what was said in 1980 but takes a more direct approach towards "The War on Drugs." The platform praises the work done by the Reagan administration in regards to suppressing drug abuse.

Republican Party Platforms: "Republican Party Platform of 1988," August 16, 1988. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project.

The 1988 Republican Party Platform was compiled by The American Presidency Project. The Republican Party designated an entire section of their platform to "Drug-Free America." This section supports the war waged on drugs by the Republican Party in the 1980's.

Secondary Sources

"20 Years After Pablo: The Evolution of Colombia's Drug Trade." *20 Years After Pablo: The Evolution of Colombia's Drug Trade*. Insight Crime, n.d. Web. 02 Mar. 2016.

This source supplied a historic summarization of the last 20 years in Colombia following the death of Pablo Escobar. This summary supported my argument that the drug trade still heavily influences Colombia.

"Against Drug Prohibition." American Civil Liberties Union. ACLU, n.d. Web. 1 May 2016.

This secondary source described the specific pieces of legislation that were passed and how they applied to drug prohibition movements

"About ONDCP." *The White House*. The White House, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This secondary source produced by The White House described the role that the ONDCP has in regards to drug policy.

Blocker, Jack S. "Abstract." *Did Prohibition Really Work?: Alcohol Prohibition as a Public Health Innovation*. Washington, DC: American Public Health Association, 2006. 233-43. Print

Blocker's book provided an objective take on the War on Drugs. Blocker concluded that the War on Drugs was successful at reducing drug usage.

"Border Patrol Overview." *Border Patrol Overview*. N.p., n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source was published by U.S. Customs and Border Protection and included a summary of the border patrol during the War on Drugs.

"Cocaine." *UXL Encyclopedia of Science*. Ed. Amy Hackney Blackwell and Elizabeth Manar. 3rd ed. Farmington Hills, MI: UXL, 2015. *Student Resources in Context*. Web. 28 Jan. 2016.

This source provided an in-depth look into the effects that cocaine has on the human body. This source supported my claim that the use of crack-cocaine could lead to possible death.

"Controlled Substances Act." *Controlled Substances Act*. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This secondary source included a summary of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970. This supported my argument that Nixon increased the effort for the War on Drugs.

Chafe, William H. "1 The War Years." *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003. 3-30. Print.

In his second-hand recollection of the U.S. after WWII, Chafe provided historical context and figures in regards to the U.S. economy directly after WWII. Chafe theorized that this economy led to intense habits of consumerism in the decades to follow.

D'Arcy, Jenish. "Death of a drug lord: the cocaine trade will survive Pablo Escobar." *Maclean's* 13 Dec. 1993: 36. *Opposing Viewpoints in Context*. Web. 28 Jan. 2016.

This source provided a summary of what Pablo Escobar was able to accomplish as the head of the Medellin Cartel shortly after his death in 1993. I used the source to support my claim that the War on Drugs was largely ineffective because of the lasting impacts that it has today.

"DEA / Drug Scheduling." *DEA / Drug Scheduling*. United State Department of Justice, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source published by the DEA provided a brief summary of how they schedule drugs and what drugs were placed on each schedule based on severity.

"DEA.gov / History." *DEA.gov / History*. U.S. Department of Justice, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source, published by the DEA, provided a brief summary of the mission of the DEA. I used it to emphasize the importance of the DEA in the War on Drugs.

Drug Enforcement Administration. "Drug Enforcement Administration 1970-1975." *DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION* (n.d.): 1-21. *Dea.gov*. U.S. Department of Justice. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This PDF source was published by the DEA and fully described the state of the DEA from 1980 to 1975. The source also described the state of drug abuse in the U.S. at the time.

Drug Enforcement Administration "Drug Enforcement Administration 1975-1980." *DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION* (n.d.): 1-19. *Dea.gov*. U.S. Department of Justice. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This PDF source was published by the DEA and fully described the state of the DEA from 1975 to 1980. The source also described the state of drug abuse in the U.S. at the time.

Drug Enforcement Administration. "Drug Enforcement Administration 1980-1985." *DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION* (n.d.): 1-15. *Dea.gov*. U.S. Department of Justice. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This PDF source was published by the DEA and fully described the state of the DEA from 1980 to 1985. The source also described the state of drug abuse in the U.S. at the time.

Drug Laws Changing - Gorilla Convict." *Gorilla Convict*. N.p., 25 Jan. 2015. Web. 1 May 2016.

This source provided the picture in Appendix II.

Frank, Thomas. *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1997. Print.

This source provided me with a quote from Peggy Noonan. That quote supported my argument that Republican sentiment of counterculture led to the War on Drugs.

Fryer, Roland G., Jr., Paul S. Heaton, Steven D. Levitt, and Kevin M. Murphey. "Measuring Crack Cocaine and Its Impact." *PsycEXTRA Dataset* (2006): 3. Apr. 2006. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source looked primarily at the effect that cocaine had on the American public. The figure I focused on was the amounts of homicides that the presence of cocaine seemingly caused in order to support my claim that drug use was killing American consumers.

Grinspoon, Lester, MD., and James B. Bakalar. "Current Psychotherapeutic Drugs." *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PSYCHOTHERAPY* XL.3 (1986): n. pag. 3 July 1986. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source published by the AJOP references drug usage in the 1960's. Grinspoon and Bakalar conclude that the use of LSD and marijuana increased during the 1960's

Heath, Joseph, and Andrew Potter. *Nation of Rebels: Why Counterculture Became Consumer Culture*. New York: Harper Business, 2004. Print.

Heath and Potter analyze the emergence of the counterculture in the 1960's and how it came to define consumer culture. This supports my argument that counterculture drug use was mainstream culture in the 1960's.

Hyland, Steven. "The Shifting Terrain of Latin American Drug Trafficking | Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective." *The Shifting Terrain of Latin American Drug Trafficking | Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective*. Origins. Current Events in Historical Context, Sept. 2011. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source was a summary on the War on Drugs in the U.S. as well as in Latin America. I used the source as evidence that Colombia had become dominant in the drug trade.

Kain, Erik. "The War on Drugs Is a War on Minorities and the Poor." *Forbes*. Forbes Magazine, 28 June 2011. Web. 1 May 2016.

This article provided a quote from the Global Commission of Drug Policy. I used the quote to substantiate my claim that the War on Drugs was ineffective at the international level.

Macce, John, and Sam Stentz. *American Consumerism in the 1950's* (n.d.): n. pag. *American Consumerism in the 1950's*. NHHS. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

Macce and Stentz compiled several primary sources that they used in their PDF. The sources were figures that described consumerism in the 1950's.

Macias, Amanda. "Legendary Drug Lord Pablo Escobar..." *Business Insider*. Business Insider, Inc, 10 Sept. 2015. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This article provided factual evidence about the amount of money made by Pablo Escobar during the 1980's. This supports my argument that American addiction led to Colombian profit.

"MARIJUANA: At Least 12 Million American Have Now Tried It. Are Penalties Too Severe? Should It Be Legalized?" *LIFE* Oct. 1969: n. page. Time.com. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This article was originally written in 1969 as a reflection on the state of marijuana in the United States. The article references a study done, which found that 12 million American tried marijuana by the end of the 1960's.

"Marijuana Timeline." *PBS*. PBS, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

PBS published an extensive timeline of the usage of marijuana. The timeline suggested that by the end of the 1960's marijuana had become popular with the white-upper-middle class. This supported my argument that drugs became part of American culture.

Muscoreil, Debra Lucas. "War on Drugs." *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*. Detroit: Gale, 2015. *Student Resources in Context*. Web. 25 Jan. 2016.

This source gave me a very broad definition for the War on Drugs. I used it to back up my claim that the War on Drugs reached its peak during the 1980s.

"Nationwide Trends." *Drug Facts: Nationwide Trends*. National Institute on Drug Abuse, n.d. Web. 02 Mar. 2016.

This source gave me a statistic about drug use in 2013. The statistic supported my claim that the War on Drugs was ineffective.

National Drug Threat Assessment 2011. Rep. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice. National Drug Intelligence Center., 2011. *Justice.gov*. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source came from the 2011 summary of drug abuse in the U.S. reported by the NDTA. The report revealed the ineffectiveness of the DEA following the height of the War of Drugs in the 1980's.

"Organization, Mission and Functions Manual: Drug Enforcement Administration." *Organization, Mission and Functions Manual: Drug Enforcement Administration*. N.p., n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source published by the DEA provided historical context in regards to the creation of Justice Department's Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in 1968. The Bureau was created in 1968 and preceded the DEA.

"Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Forces." *Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Forces*. United State Department of Justice, n.d. Web. 25 Jan. 2016.

I used this source as background knowledge as to the creation of the OCDETF. The summary came directly from the U.S. State Department of Justice.

"Pablo Escobar Dominates the International Cocaine Trade: 1976–1993." *Global Events: Milestone Events Throughout History*. Ed. Jennifer Stock. Vol. 3: Central and South America. Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2014. *Student Resources in Context*. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source provided me a glimpse as to the sheer domination that Pablo Escobar and his cartel had over the cocaine trade worldwide.

Provine, Doris Marie. *Unequal under Law: Race in the War on Drugs*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 2007. Print. Pg. 3

Provine's book provided a subjective look at race relations in regards to the War on Drugs. I used her book to substantiate my claim that the War on Drugs was practiced unfairly against African Americans.

"Richard M. Nixon." *The White House*. The White House, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source produced by The White House provided me with basic details of Richard Nixon's Presidency.

"Ronald Reagan." *The White House*. The White House, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source published by The White House gave me very basic details about Ronald Reagan's Presidency.

"The Colombian Cartels." *PBS*. PBS, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source was an in-depth summary of the formation of the Medellin Cartel. I used this source to provide historical evidence for my paper.

"The Drug War, Mass Incarceration and Race." *Drug Policy Alliance*. Drug Policy Alliance, 10 Feb. 2016. Web. 1 May 2016.

This source coupled various graphs of prison incarceration rates. The graphs depicted rises in incarceration rates due to the War on Drugs.

"Understanding Drug Abuse and Addiction." *DrugFacts*. National Institute on Drug Abuse, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source provided a summary of the brain disease known as addiction. I used this source to back up my claim that cocaine causes addiction and the harmful side effects that come with it.

"Wasted Tax Dollars." *Wasted Tax Dollars*. Drug Policy Alliance, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

The Drug Policy Alliance is a group that is firmly opposed to the war on drugs. That being said the figure they reported is statistically accurate and was used to argue that the War on Drugs has been somewhat ineffective.

"What Is the Scope of Cocaine Use in the United States?" *What Is the Scope of Cocaine Use in the United States?* National Institute on Drug Abuse, n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source included a figure that showed the decline in cocaine usage amongst high school students. The source was used to highlight the positive outcomes that the War on Drugs has had thus far.

Whiteley, N. "Toward a Throw-Away Culture. Consumerism, 'Style Obsolescence' and Cultural Theory in the 1950s and 1960s." *Oxford Art Journal* 10.2 (1987): 3-27. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

This source described the emergence of consumerism as a central aspect in average American life in the 1960's. I used this to support my claim that popular consumerism led to increased drug use.